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FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOHAK 11//  
TO DAVE GOMPERT FOR THE SECRETARY  
ZEM  
UNCLAS WH50621

TOHAK 11

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS NSC

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, VS

SUBJECT: ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT THIEU

1. PRESIDENT THIEU ADDRESSED THE NATION OVER TV AND RADIO TONIGHT. ALTHOUGH WE ASSUME FBIS TEXT WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT, FOLLOWING IS A RUNNING ROUGH TRANSLATION OF THE HIGHLIGHTS MADE BY EMBOFF DURING COURSE OF SPEECH.

THE PRESIDENT REVIEWED MILITARY SITUATION AND SAID THEY HAD PLANNED TO HOLD BAN ME THUOT BECAUSE IT IS AN IMPORTANT CENTER IN THE HIGHLANDS. DECIDED TO GIVE UP PLEIKU AND KONTUM BECAUSE THEY ARE ISOLATED AREAS AND DIFFICULT TO DEFEND. HOWEVER, THEY WERE OUT-NUMBERED BY NVN MILITARY. IF THEY TRIED TO KEEP PLEIKU AND KONTUM THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN ANNILATED. AS FAR AS THE SITUATION IN THE LOWLAND AND I CORPS THEY HAD HOPED TO HOLD HUE AND DANANG BUT ONCE AGAIN WERE OVERWHELMED BY NVA.

IT WAS A COMBINATION OF GOOD FIGHTING ON THE PART OF SOME OF THE RVNAF. OTHER UNITS WERE INFLUENCED BY COMMUNIST CADRE WHO SPREAD RUMORS AND CAUSED RIOTING. HE SAID ONE OF THE RUMORS WAS THAT HE HAD MADE SECRET AGREEMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS TO GIVE UP PART OF GVN AND HE SAID IN 10 YEARS HE NEVER ACCEPTED ANY AGREEMENT WITH COMMUNISTS AND WOULD NOT NOW. NO ONE SHOULD BE SURPRISED THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE VERY STRONG, THEY HAVE BEEN BUILDING UP FOR 10 YEARS. THEY ARE STRONGER THAN WE ARE -- THEY HAVE BETTER WEAPONS AND MORE SOLDIERS AND VIOLATE THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND HAVE TAKEN A GREAT DEAL OF LAND. WE WILL GET STRONGER AND TAKE BACK LAND. OUR GOVERNMENT IS READY TO DISCUSS WITH THE COMMUNISTS ANYTHING ON THE BASIS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT. WE WILL TALK ABOUT COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, GENERAL ELECTIONS OR ANYTHING COVERED BY PARIS AGREEMENT BUT THE COMMUNISTS MUST AGREE NOT USE FORCE AS THEY HAVE IN THE LAST TWO YEARS.

WE STILL HAVE A FEW PROVINCES IN MR-2 AND ALL OF MR-3 AND MR-4. I THINK WE HAVE DETERMINED AND COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP, THIS INCLUDES THE CAPITAL ZONE. WE WILL RESOLUTELY FIGHT. WE WILL REGROUP. MILITARY AID IS SLOWLY ARRIVING WITH WHAT WE HAVE NOW WE SIMPLY NEED DETERMINATION TO HOLD WHAT WE HAVE. I THINK THAT IN PHAN RANG AND PHAN THIET WE ARE FACING A SIMILAR SITUATION AS IN THE OTHER PROVINCES BUT WE MUST HAVE LEADERSHIP TO HOLD. BOTH THE MILITARY LEADERS AND MYSELF FEEL THAT WAY. WE ALSO WANT TO RETURN TO CENTRAL VIETNAM. HE SAID THE RUMOR OF SECRET AGREEMENT WAS COMMUNIST

END OF PAGE 01

DISTORTION AND IRRESPONSIBLE. IT HAD BEEN USED INTENTIONALLY TO HARM PRESTIGE OF RVN. COMMUNISTS WILL NEVER STOP ATTACK. THEY ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO ATTACK AS THEY ARE NOW IN TAY NINH AND HAU NGHIA. NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND HIMSELF. COMMUNISTS ARE THIRSTING TO SUBJUGATE ALL OF VIETNAM. THEY HAVE INFILTRATED HUNDRED OF THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS, TANKS AND OTHER FORCES. HOW COULD THERE BE AN AGREEMENT? SAD SITUATION IN CENTRAL VIETNAM WAS DUE TO PANICKING OF SOLDIERS AND PEOPLE. IN SOME AREAS THERE WERE DEFECTS. ALSO CONSIDERABLE SABOTAGE BY UNDERGROUND CADRE. NOBODY LOVES US. BBC AND VOA HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY DISTORTIONS CARRIED IN INTERNATIONAL PRESS AND RADIO EVEN IF UNKNOWINGLY. UNDISCIPLINED SOLDIERS WERE RESULT OF COMMUNIST CADRE WHO TOLD SOLDIERS AND PEOPLE TO GO TO AIRPORT FOR AIR TRANSPORTATION AND THEN STARTED SHOOTING. AS A RESULT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE STILL CAUGHT IN COMMUNIST ZONES. THERE ARE RECONCILIATION MOVEMENT IN AREAS CONTROLLED BY COMMUNISTS. THERE MOVEMENTS HAVE COOPERATED WITH THE COMMUNISTS. THAT IS AN OLD TRICK OF THE COMMUNISTS. THE COMMUNIST CADRE NORMALLY GET PEOPLE EXCITED AND ON THE MOVE BEFORE THEY ATTACK. MAO TSE TSUNG IN CHINA USED SAME TACTIC. SOLDIERS AND PEOPLE DRIVEN FROM PROVINCE TO PROVINCE. SAPPERS WITHIN THE GROUP CAUSED PANIC.

I ASK ALL OF YOU TO PROTECT THE TERRITORY WE NOW HOLD. LEADERSHIP FROM TOP TO THE BOTTOM MUST MAINTAIN MORALE, KEEP ORDER. IF WE EVACUATE WE DO SO IN ORDER. DON'T LISTEN TO COMMUNIST RUMORS TO RUN TO AIRPORT OR SEAPORT. COOPRATE WITH THE GVN. LISTEN TO GUIDANCE AND AVOID PANIC. PANIC WILL KILL YOU QUICKLY.

ON SUBJECT OF REFUGEES, GVN HAS EMERGENCY PLAN AND WILL PROVIDE FOOD, LAND, ETC. FOR THOSE WHO ARE CAUGHT WE WILL USE EVERY MEANS TO GET THEM OUT. WE HAVE APPEALED TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND RED CROSS. WE HAVE ASKED FRIENDLY NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP. PLANES AND BOATS HAVE BEEN SUPPLIED. SOME PEOPLE HAVE BEEN HESITANT TO HELP BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THIS IS A CIVIL WAR AND NOT AGGRESSION FROM ABROAD. NOW THEY CAN SEE TRUTH CLEARLY. NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE SABOTAGED PEACE AGREEMENT. IT IS NOT A CIVIL WAR. COMMUNISTS HAVE BOUGHT OFF MANY PEOPLE. WITH GVN EXPERIENCE OF 1963 AND 1972 ORGANIZING SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES, SUPPLYING FOOD, ETC., THERE IS NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT. KEEP COOL, LISTEN TO GVN. DON'T BE LURED INTO EFFORTS TO CAUSE DIVISION OR COUP D'ETAT. I SPEAK TRUTHFULLY. WE ARE A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THAT IS WHY WE RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. THOSE WHO WANT TO GET RID OF US WANT US TO GET RID OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. THEY WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER. CURRENT SITUATION WAS INTENDED TO BE A COUP DE GRACE, BUT WE WILL SURVIVE. WE MUST KEEP CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF GVN IN ORDER TO USE IT AS BASIS FOR SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS.

OUR PEOPLE MUST RECOGNIZE NO ONE CAN ASK OTHERS TO FIGHT. EVERYONE MUST PARTICIPATE. REJECTING COMMUNIST DISTORTION AND RUMOR IS POSITIVE WAY OF CONTRIBUTING. IF WE GIVE PERMISSION FOR COMMUNISTS -TO TAKE MORE THEY WILL CONTINUE ON UNTIL TOTAL SUBJUGATION. WE MUST CONSOLIDATE AND PROTECT LAND LEFT. WE MUST HAVE A FIGHTING GOVERNMENT, UNFIED TO FIGHT EFFECTIVELY--TO FIGHT AND SUPPORT AND STABILIZE THE REAR. WE MUST HAVE DIRECT OR INDIRECT PARTICI-

IZATION OF ALL PATRIOTS AND GROUPS IN COUNTRY. WITHOUT UNITY THERE IS NO STRUGGLE. WITHOUT STRUGGLE, NO DEFEAT OF THE COMMUNISTS.

IF COMMUNISTS WANT TO TALK WITH US WE WILL TALK ON BASIS OF PARIS AGREEMENT WHICH THEY SIGNED. THERE WILL BE NO COALITION. I SAY THAT BECAUSE THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE WHO ARE LACKEYS OF THE COMMUNISTS AND WANT TO SET UP A COALITION WITH THEM. THIS IS NOT WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT AND IT WILL NOT SURVIVE.

PRIME MINISTER KHIEM AND HIS CABINET HAVE RESIGNED AND I HAVE ACCEPTED THEIR RESIGNATION. NEW PEOPLE WILL BE APPOINTED TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. I HAVE ASKED NGUYEN BA CAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE LOWER HOUSE, TO SET UP A NEW GOVERNMENT. FINALLY, LOOKING AT THE FUTURE WE BELIEVE THAT NOW THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY OUR US ALLIES HAVE SEEN MASSIVE OFFENSIVE--OVER 500,000 SOLDIERS, ALL NORTHERN. THIS IS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THE WAR IS NOT A CIVIL WAR. THE US PEOPLE AND CONGRESS WHO RECENTLY CAME HERE WILL HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT THE PEOPLE AND THE US WILL DO. WHEN WE SIGNED THE AGREEMENT THE US PROMISED THAT IT WOULD REACT STRONGLY TO VIOLATIONS BY THE OTHER SIDE AND AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDE MEANS FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TO PROTECT ITS FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. SINCE PARIS AGREEMENT, THOSE PROMISES HAVE NOT BEEN KEPT. AID HAS BEEN REDUCED EVEN THOUGH NVN HAS BROUGHT MASSIVE FORCES INTO SOUTH VIETNAM. THE PRESENT WAY SITUATION COMES IN PART, FROM A LACK OF DETERMINATION BECAUSE OUR PEOPLE ARE SHOCKED THAT IN THE LAST YEAR THE US HAS NOT HELPED EVEN IN THE FACE OF MASSIVE NVN BUILDUP. THERE HAS BEEN NO ONE-FOR-ONE REPLACEMENT. WE DON'T HAVE FIREPOWER AS BEFORE. THAT HAS HARMED MORALE AND CONFIDENCE OF OUR SOLDIERS. IT IS A PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR. VIETNAM NEEDS FOR A WHILE \$1.5 BILLION EVERY YEAR. IF ONE-HALF OF THAT IS ALL WE HAVE, THAN RVNAF CAN ONLY PROTECT ONE-HALF OF THE TERRITORY. I TOLD THIS TO THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION. THE US LEFT US TO DO THE FIGHTING AND THEN CUT AID IN HALF--THAT IS ILLOGICAL. I TOLD THEM THE US MUST KEEP THEIR PROMISE. WE ARE A LONG ALLY OF THE US. THE US MUST HELP OR ELSE WE WILL SLOWLY LOSE TO THE COMMUNISTS. I HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS OF THE US CAN SEE BOTH THE REQUIREMENTS AND THE RESULTS OF THEIR POLICY OF THE LAST TWO YEARS. MAINTAIN YOUR VIGILANCE AND MORALE. DON'T BE AFRAID. THAT IS 50 PERCENT OF THE PROBLEM OF SAVING THE NATION.

MARTIN

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